1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Everyone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost everybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[3] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[3] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

175 The Shehu of Bornu,
648 however, remains as the religious and political head of the
643 Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to
[174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 The historical factors which led to the development of the
177 empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of
[171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos-
[179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

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692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

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779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
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779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

632 366 368 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 632 463 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 171 182 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

611 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems
171 to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be re-
182 duced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 The most important social unit determined by kinship is
595 the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a
587 statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

171 602 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers (1) for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system. 66.

602 433 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent system would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organisation for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 571 [433] A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organisation of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organisation in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her relatives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. The custom of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social equals.

[591] [572]

(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organization with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for political reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.
125 (2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

58 little sweetheart and keep her until he (the informant) was grown adult enough to have her as a wife for himself. Because the bridewealth was in the range of X's family resources, X's parents decided, after having the idea suggested to them by the informant, to obtain the informant's "intended" for their son. Needless to say, they knew nothing of the informant's long term plan to marry the girl eventually himself. When the informant was nineteen or twenty, his little childhood girl friend divorced X and married him. The informant did not know whether X ever managed to marry the girl of his own childhood dreams, but t[illegible]ks he did.

58 183 This rather extreme example is interesting for its illustration of how individuals growing up within a certain social structure can often work out arrangements whereby they skirt round the requirements of their culture, yet manage to maintain the system as a set of rules. The Kanuri recognize that all marriages cannot simply be lasting agreements made between groups of individuals comprised almost entirely of males, especially in Bornu where divorce is so simple and all relationships have a brittle edge.

587 The final stage in independence is reached in the last variety of marriage, nyia kolatabe (marriage of discovery), which by its very nature is confined to non-virgin women. This is the most widespread form of marriage among the population, becoming common after the woman has had her first divorce (or second in some high ranking households). Informants claimed that in this type of marriage, "There is no arrangement, you only meet the woman somewhere and decide to marry her." [[71]] Some Kanuri equated it with the Hausa tsintuna or propertyless marriage, i.e. where the kin are not involved either in the decision to marry or the exchange of property. There is, however, a bridewealth payment by the husband-to-be which is paid to the woman herself, and the marriage is still solemnized at a sada'ż ceremony as at all weddings.

586 Nevertheless the incidence of divorce is very high and only exceptional women marry as virgins and remain married all their lives to the same man, while practically all men divorce a wife at least once in their lives. The average figure is about three to four divorces per person (from qualitative observation and genealogical records) during a life span. The reasons given for divorce run the complete gamut of dissatisfaction that a man and a woman can complain of in their relations with one another.(1) Furthermore divorce is very easy to institute, being merely an act of personal will by either partner to the marriage.

[692] A great many divorces are practised without resort to the formal proceedings of the Alkalai court. The woman leaves her husband's compound taking her property with her and returns (traditionally) to her luwali's (guardian) household, which usually means her parents. As we have said before, this is not always the case in later marriages. If the husband wants her back, he sends an intermediary to the house to which she has returned to plead his case. If he does not, then an intermediary may be sent from the house to which the girl has gone. This latter procedure is much less usual, since the girl's family is traditionally of higher status, and it is customary for the lower status group to visit the higher and not vice versa. If no intermediaries are used it is assumed that both parties desire a divorce, or if they are used and fail to obtain a reconciliation, then [627] divorce follows. If any adjudication is required in the proceedings, [692] it is most commonly carried on by relatives, friends, ward heads and town heads.

• [171] (1) c.f. Smith, M.G., op.cit. (1955) (p.63). Smith gives a list of complaints obtained from Hausa court records of divorce. All of his list of sixty-three complaints are applicable to Kanuri court proceedings on divorce.

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829 place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

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[171] Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protracted time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somewhat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Maguneri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan (1) whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the east, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name.

[551] To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.

178 463 554 [184] ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 463 554 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 554 [171] It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers that young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Combaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

556 foolish, and call persons who behave this way wujirma. On the other
533 hand, as Smith points out for the Hausa, the giving of money to
• (171) praise-singers by wealthy and powerful men, or the maintenance of a personal band, which is customary for District Heads and the Shehu, is perfectly legitimate conduct and validates their high status.(1)

556 The optimum use of wealth is described as kùre. The kan kùre (roughly the wisely generous man) is he who uses his wealth for his own benefit, and that of his family, friends and supporters. He does not have to go into debt to achieve his goal, for he is strong enough to know how to balance that which he has, against that which his social relationships require of him. Since there is always pressure from others for property use, and this is reinforced by a desire on the part of many individuals to give, in order that their status may be enhanced or raised, it takes a strong self-confident person, or a very wealthy one, to fit the ideal behaviour associated with the kan kùre.

556 The chief difficulty with the achievement of this ideal of
571 balanced generosity is that there is an enormously greater number of people looking for benefactors in the society than there are benefactors with property surpluses who can absorb them, and satisfy their wants. Any man of any social rank whatever can always find a multitude of persons who would willingly become his tada or tada njima (his boy, his son, his loyal subordinate) and people of lower rank continually ask and beg others with more property to give it to them. They say to the higher status person, "You are rich," "You have many shirts", You are powerful", "You have much food", and so on, and then finally, "Wuro she" (Give to

(1) See Smith, M.G. The Social Functions and Meaning of Hausa Praise-Singing, Africa, Vol. XXVII, no. 1, (January 1957) pp. 26-45.

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is not perceived by them as being in conflict with their lack of direct power and authority in the state.

The result of this coordination of lower statuses into a peasant-commoner class and high statuses into a ruling upper class is the differentiation of Kanuri society into two broad sub-division, that of the upper and the lower classes. Language, wealth, power and authority, occupations, manners and etiquette all differ within these two large divisions. The differences are not, however, either/or distinctions. They can be seen as a large number of recognizable signs which tend to place the person higher or lower on a scale of class attributes. It is at this point that class, or rather its cultural characteristics, become not just a segmentation of society into large units, but a dimension of status. This process occurs through the simulation of class attributes, generally in an upward direction. For in Bornu, the appearance of upper class membership enhances an individual in his own eyes and those of his fellows.(1) Thus the acquisition of items of upper class culture, such as large flowing light-coloured robes, or a fine horse, or many supporters and subordinates, or more elegant manners and speech, give a man higher status. But it is the dimensions of social stratification discussed above, rather than these cultural expressions, which are the underlying conditions for status. Thus if a person does not have a high status occupation, or is not of a sedentary Muslim tribe, or possess real wealth that he uses properly, or behave in all the other ways necessary for him to obtain high status, then the acquisition of some items of upper class culture merely constitute some blurring and

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(1) Nadel, S.F. A Black Byzantium (1947) and The Concept of Social Elites, UNESCO bull. of Social Science, Number 8 (1956) has made this same point for Nupe, and on a theoretical level as a characteristic of elites in general, i.e. that they are copied by the rest of the population.

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(171) levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

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562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

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562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

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562 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a
571 total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems
[511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56, £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements, buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a discussion of credit).

511 The following table summarizes the quantitative data on consumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or constructed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional information from a larger farm survey.(1)

TABLE XIX

Consumption in Rural Bornu

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total	£65.($182.00)	100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires approximately $180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependance
44 of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.